

BOSTON MORNING POST.

PUBLISHED DAILY, AT NO. 21 WATER STREET, BY BEALS & GREENE.—CHARLES GORDON GREENE EDITOR.

VOLUME XIII. NO. 165.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 13, 1837.

PRICE \$6 PER ANN. IN ADVANCE

POLITICAL.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE. On the Relations between the United States and the Mexican Republic.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 2, 1837.

In compliance with the instructions of the President, the Secretary of State has the honor to present a report on the relations between the United States and the Mexican Republic, since the last communications from the Executive to Congress on that subject. It was apparent, from the proceedings of Congress, at the last annual session, on the special message of the President calling their attention to our claims against Mexico, and recommending a contingent authority to make reprisals, if another and last demand for redress should be made in vain, that both branches of the Legislature coincided in the opinion expressed in that message, that the United States might justly resort to any mode of redress known to the law of nations; but differed with the President so far as to think that this last demand ought to be made before Congress should decide on the course to be pursued in case it should prove unsuccessful.

Soon after the adjournment of Congress, a careful examination was made of the various existing causes of complaint against Mexico, as well those of an individual as those of a public character. The archives of the legation of the United States at Mexico having been brought to Washington by Mr. Ellis, the late Charge d'Affaires to that Government, the Department was enabled to exclude from the list of claims various cases; some of them of a doubtful character, and others which, after having been presented to the Government for its aid in procuring a settlement, had been adjusted through the efforts of the persons interested in them. A fair and full statement of the remaining causes of complaint, chronologically arranged, was then carefully prepared, and forwarded, with all the evidence within reach of the Department, in support of each claim that had arisen since the treaty, to the Government of Mexico, by a special messenger, who was the bearer of a solemn demand from this Government for redress. This demand, with the accompanying evidence of its justice, was delivered to the Mexican Government on the 20th of July last. The list presented to the Mexican Government contained fifty-seven subjects of complaint; the last two embracing, in general terms, the loans forced in Mexico from citizens of the United States, and the flagrant outrages committed on the commerce and citizens of the United States in the Gulf of Mexico by the Mexican squadron, shortly after the adjournment of Congress; detailed evidence of which had not then been sent to the department. In contravention of the treaty between the two countries, an embargo was laid by Mexico upon all the vessels of the United States, after the seizure of the General Urrea by the United States ship of war Natchez in retaliation for the capture of the several merchant vessels of the United States, a delivery of which had been demanded by the captain of the Natchez, and refused by the authorities of Mexico. This embargo, laid by the local officers, was however disapproved by the Government of Mexico, and was in a short time removed; while the citizens of the United States, officers, crews, and passengers, taken in the merchant vessels carried in for an alleged violation of a blockade of Texas, were, after suffering various privations, injuries, and insults, and being held as subject to criminal prosecution and punishment, released. An answer to the demand made by the United States was given to the special messenger on the 29th of July, who returned with it forthwith to Washington, which contained assurances that the Government of Mexico earnestly desired to give a prompt and explicit answer to each of the claims to which the demand related; that, although there were several claims which admitted of immediate reply, there was not time, before the necessary return of the messenger of the United States, to make a mature and impartial examination, which others required; that the President of Mexico desired that the reply to each should be given, in order that a complete judgment might be formed of the whole; that, not to delay a moment the final and equitable adjustment of the difficulties between the two Governments, the President had ordered the voluminous series of documents presented in support of the claims to be translated and minutely examined in the department of Foreign Affairs; that evidence should be sought from other sources; that nothing should be left undone which might lead to a speedy and equitable adjustment of the points so seriously occupying the attention of the Government of the United States; and that the Mexican Minister at Washington would communicate, successively, the opinions of the President on the several cases, and his determination thereon. Relying upon these assurances, the more implicitly from the voluntary action of the Mexican Government in raising the unwarrantable embargo upon our vessels, and the release of the Americans taken in merchant vessels unlawfully captured in the Gulf of Mexico, it was expected that immediately after the arrival of the Mexican Minister in Washington, they would be in every respect fulfilled. The Mexican Minister reached Washington, from New Orleans, where he had been for some years residing as consul of the Mexican Republic, on the 14th of October. He brought with him, however, nothing but the usual letters of credence, and one repeating, in general terms, the expression, usual between Governments, of a desire to preserve and promote friendly relations with the United States. It was not until the 18th instant, that answers to any of our complaints were given. The Mexican Minister then presented to the Department of State ten notes, all dated on that day, in the first of which he explains the causes which have prevented a reply from his Government to the claims numbered 3, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, and 17. In the chronological order in which the claims were presented to Mexico, No. 3 is the case of the cargo of the ship "Louisa," which forms the subject of one of the notes accompanying his explanation; from which fact, and the direct references in some of the other notes, it is apparent that the Mexican Government had not examined the documents sent from this Department with the demand made in July, or else has substituted for one of them a list of claims sent to Congress with the President's Message of the 6th of February last, and forming part of the documents printed by their order, which are alleged by Mr. Martinez to have been communicated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, with a note of the Secretary of State of the 14th of May last. But no note was addressed to this Department to the Mexican Minister on the 14th of May, nor has any allusion whatever been made to the printed list of claims referred to, in any communication from this Government to that of Mexico. In fulfillment of the assurances solemnly given in Mexico, after a lapse of five months, answers are made to but four of the fifty-seven subjects of complaint, presented obviously for the last time, and under the article of our treaty with Mexico which looks to the unfortunate contingency of a necessity on one part or the other to take, forcibly, satisfaction for injuries complained of, and not, on due demand, accompanied by competent proof, redressed. The answers are to the individual complaints in the case of the ship "Louisa;" in the case of the brig "Cossack," and in the case of Chouteau and De Munn, arrested in 1817 within the territorial limits of the United States, carried into Mexican territory, and imprisoned, and their property confiscated at Santa Fe;

and to the demand made upon Mexico to disavow any approbation of the reprehensible conduct of its Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, in printing and distributing a pamphlet defamatory of this Government and the people of the United States, while in the United States, under the protection of his diplomatic privilege. The justice of the claim for the cargo of the "Louisa," seized in 1821 by virtue of the edicts of Iturbide, of 20th of February and 4th of March of that year, is acknowledged, and a promise is made to incite the Congress, upon and before whom the claim has been pressed for ten years, to provide for the payment of the balance due according to a decree of the Mexican Government of the 1st of February, 1822, heretofore partially executed; but the justice of the case of the "Cossack," and of the claims of Chouteau and De Munn, is denied, on the ground that they occurred before Mexican independence was achieved. A decree of restitution in the case of the "Cossack" was issued on the 27th of July, 1821. It would seem, then, that the decrees of the 20th February and 4th of March, 1821, impose obligations on the present Government of Mexico; but those of the 27th of July, 1821, do not. A decree of the 1st of February, 1822, awarding indemnity, is good; a similar decree of the 27th of July, 1821, is not good. The Secretary of State does not perceive upon what principles these distinctions are made, nor on what just ground payment can be refused by Mexico for any acts committed within its territorial jurisdiction after the virtual separation of Spain and Mexico, i. e. after the occupation of Spain by France in 1808. The case of Chouteau and De Munn rests upon the grounds that the injury occurred while Spain had no power where it was received; that Mexico had then, and has had ever since, an effective control in Santa Fe, and that the present Government is answerable for the acts of all its *de facto* precursors, who alleged and exercised sovereignty over the country. With relation to the brig "Cossack," the decree of restitution is dated after the plan of Iguala was declared, less than a month before the treaty of Cordova was signed, by which O'Donohue acknowledged the independence of Mexico, and a short time previous to the election of a regency, and the choice of Iturbide as President of the new Republic. What particular meaning is affixed in Mexico to the terms "independence achieved," is not understood, nor is it important to discuss, as the obligation of Mexico dates from the time of declared or actual independence of foreign control, and since it maintained a dominion exclusive of that of Spain.

The answer of the Mexican Minister to the demand of the United States, founded upon the conduct of Mr. Gorostiza, is so singular as to require a particular statement of all the facts in relation to the subject of it. Soon after the late Mexican Minister asked for his passports to return home, after terminating his extraordinary mission, his last note to the department, in which his reasons for taking that step were expressed, was published in New York, in the journal called the "Courier des Etats Unis." This document had never been made public by the authority of the department. The existence of a pamphlet by Mr. Gorostiza, printed in Philadelphia in Spanish, had been previously made known to the Secretary of State, by a member of the diplomatic corps accredited at Washington, who stated that he had received two copies, and he believed that the same number of copies, had been transmitted by the author to each member of the foreign diplomatic corps in Washington; expressing, at the same time, his surprise and disgust at the grossness of such an act by a retiring minister. One of those copies was given, on the request of the Secretary, for the use of the Department of State. That the belief thus expressed was well founded, no doubt was entertained, as a copy was also procured by one of the officers of the Department of State from another member of the diplomatic corps; and one was lent, as it was afterwards discovered, to the editors of the "Courier des Etats Unis," by a third, with permission to use it for any purpose whatever. Extracts were published from the pamphlet in that paper, and in several other newspapers; and the copy in the hands of the editor of the French journal was lent without scruple, on no condition, but that, after being copied, or otherwise used, it should be returned. The duplicate copies sent to the diplomatic corps were obviously intended to give the most extensive circulation to the matters contained in the pamphlet; and no doubt one was expected to be transmitted to each foreign Government represented in the United States, and the other to adorn the archives of its legation in Washington. From the equivocal circumstances under which the pamphlet was prepared, and the assertions contained in the preface, it was supposed that the writer sought to evade official responsibility, by representing the publication as his personal act; thus giving to himself and his Government the benefit he hoped to derive from his defamatory of the United States, with all the Governments of Europe, and with his own countrymen, among whom it was widely distributed as soon as he reached the Mexican territory, as a prelude to his last report to his own Government, without exposing that Government to a demand for redress for the injury sought to be inflicted by its representatives. The slanders of a private individual could not be of importance to the United States; but as the position of Mr. Gorostiza was equivocal, it was deemed necessary that this subject should be so presented to his Government, that the distinction made between his acts, as a mere citizen, as the representative agent of Mexico, should be marked and recognized. Occasion was taken, therefore, in giving instructions, on the 10th of December last, to Mr. Ellis, to make explanations previously promised in regard to the movement of the troops under General Gaines, to direct him to bring the act of their Minister to the notice of the Mexican Government, in these words:

"It would be gratifying to the President if this communication, which you will have to make to the Mexican Government, was limited to these explanations. Unfortunately, the conduct of its late Minister Extraordinary has made it necessary to touch upon even a more unpleasant topic. You will learn with astonishment that Mr. Gorostiza, while enjoying his diplomatic privilege, although after he had declared his mission at an end, published, on his own authority, a pamphlet, (a copy of which is herewith sent to you,) containing parts of his unpublished correspondence with this department, and extracts from his letters to the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations, with a long introductory preface. The publication of his correspondence with the Department, without the authority of his Government, is believed to be unexampled in the history of diplomacy, and was not decorous to the Government of the United States. The extracts from his correspondence with his own Government, and his introduction to the whole, contain statements and comments defamatory of the Government and people of the United States, and obviously intended to injure the character of both, for honor and good faith, in the eyes of the world. This pamphlet, although not circulated generally among our citizens, was in the hands of editors of newspapers, who have published extracts from it; and the President has been informed that two copies of it were sent by its author, at the moment of his departure from the United States, to some, if not to all, the members of the foreign diplomatic body accredited here. This act, still more extraordinary because it almost immediately followed the communication of the President's intention to direct that explanations, which he believed would be satisfactory, should be made to the Mexican Govern-

ment, has excited but one sentiment among those to whom it is known. In directing you to make known the publication of this pamphlet to the Mexican Government, the President does not doubt the truth of the declaration made by its author, that this publication was his own personal act, for which he had no authority from his Government; nor will he permit himself to suppose, for an instant, that it will adopt or sanction conduct so glaringly violating all the decorum of diplomatic usage; so disrespectful to the Government and people of the United States; so unworthy the representative of a respectable Government, and so well calculated to interrupt the harmony and good will which ought to subsist between the United States and Mexico.

"How far the character of the Mexican Government for decorum and justice, and an honorable desire to maintain a respectable rank among the civilized nations of the world, requires a distinct manifestation of its just displeasure at such an extraordinary step, are questions that belong to itself alone to consider and decide.

"In giving you this instruction to make known to the Mexican Government the conduct of its Envoy, without a demand of reparation at its hands, the President is influenced, as well by the explicit disavowal of the Envoy of all participation on the part of his Government, in the act complained of, as by the sincere conviction, already expressed, that a step so reprehensible will not be countenanced by it. But if, contrary to all just expectation, the Mexican Government shall adopt the act, or give sanction to it by approving of their Minister's conduct, the continuance of diplomatic intercourse between the two countries can no longer be either useful or reputable to the United States. However painful may be the consequences, the honor of the American people requires of the President to instruct you, as I now do, in that event, to demand your passports, and to return forthwith, bringing with you all the archives of the legation to the United States."

These instructions were not received by Mr. Ellis before his departure from Mexico; but a copy of them was subsequently transmitted to the Mexican Government, through its Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Castillo. Prior to Mr. Ellis's departure, and within a fortnight after Mr. Gorostiza's arrival at the city of Mexico, the Mexican Government, after an alleged delay of what is called an act of justice to their Minister, waiting for explanations promised by the United States, sent a formal approval of his conduct as their Minister at Washington. When it was recollected that, in the extracts of the correspondence of Mr. Gorostiza, with his own Government, which he had himself published, the good faith of the United States was directly impeached, and it was presumed, that the publication of his pamphlet, and its distribution, at least in Mexico, was known to his Government, it was deemed necessary to require from the Mexican authority a distinct disavowal of the part of his conduct which had been considered offensive by the United States. No doubt was entertained that the Mexican Government would, without the situation, declared that its approbation of Mr. Gorostiza's conduct did not relate to the preparation, or publication, or use, of the defamatory pamphlet.

The answer of the Mexican Government, now received, defends the conduct of its Minister. Mr. Martinez asserts, in conformity with his instructions, that the Minister did nothing which was not required by the dignity and interests of Mexico. By the note of Mr. Martinez, these facts are admitted, on the part of the Mexican Government; that the pamphlet was prepared by its Minister, and printed in Philadelphia, in the Spanish language; that some copies were left to be used in the United States, with a recommendation as to the time only when they were to be used, and the time recommended was, as soon as there should be a publication of it in Mexico; that the pamphlet was extensively circulated on the coast of Mexico as soon as he arrived; and, on his journey to the capital, by the returning Envoy Extraordinary. On these admitted facts, the Government declares that Mr. Gorostiza acted conformably to what was required by the dignity and interests of Mexico. Keeping out of view, as entirely unimportant, the offensive character of the pamphlet, and the use made of it in the United States, the Mexican Government has attempted, argumentatively, to prove that it did not appear that their Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary intended to offend the United States, or to jeopard his diplomatic character, by violating established usage. To sustain the first allegation, it is said the pamphlet was necessary for his vindication, in relation to a past transaction, a negotiation not pending, inasmuch as his mission was terminated; that it was in the Spanish language—if it had been intended offensively it would have been printed in English, for circulation among the people of the United States; and that he did not circulate it among his colleagues of the diplomatic body, because he did not send it to them officially, or confidentially, with an explanation of his object. The character of the production, and the use made of the copies left, with the recommendation as to time, are, unfortunately, the best evidences of the intention of the author.

The pamphlet is a labored effort to prove that the United States, for a series of years, sought unjustly to obtain possession of the territory belonging to a friendly power, till the year 1818, when, the Executive of the United States pretending to nothing but what was reasonable, the Florida treaty was negotiated, the negotiators being both men of talents and good faith; that, subsequently to that treaty, the want of good faith and integrity produced new pretenses to acquire possession of the territory, the pretended claim to which they had been thereby abandoned; that while the government was fostering the sinister design of violating all the articles of their treaty with Mexico, the President and all his ministers were pouring into the ears of the Mexican Envoy Extraordinary protestations of affection for his government, and of strict neutrality in the Texan contest; that this government was destitute of good faith, and that the people, in mass, with the exception of a minute faction, described as belonging to the school of Washington and Madison, were necessarily ignorant; and, having every thing in their power, could be blindly led by dishonest, greedy, unprincipled, and consequently, unbridled flatterers, wherever they pleased. The assertion that such a pamphlet was not intended to offend the United States, is so extraordinary that it is to be hoped that the Mexican government has omitted to examine it. Such a declaration, in regard to its intention, cannot otherwise be rationally accounted for unless it be supposed that that government means to make this singular distinction, that a production intended to impeach the character of a government and people, for honor and good faith, and to degrade them in the eyes of the world, was not intended to offend. The argumentative denial of the act of sending this defamatory pamphlet to foreign ministers, that the calumny against this Government and people, might be made known to all the Governments with whom they hold diplomatic intercourse, which has been made for Mr. Gorostiza, amounts to this: that he did not send copies to them at all, because he did not send them with an official explanation. He left them here to be used; they were used—sent to foreign ministers. It is for the Envoy Extraordinary to explain how they came there. His Government, which has approved his conduct as conformable to its dignity and interests, is responsible to those whose honor is involved in the inquiry. The contents of the pamphlet show, also, that the intention of it was not self-vindication. The responsibility of the author for the act on which it is alleged he designed to enlighten his country, was to his Govern-

ment, and through it to the people of Mexico. His pamphlet is written for all places, and for all times; a part is specially for the meridian of the United States, as will satisfactorily appear by a reference to its contents. But it is also said that it related to past transactions—not secret, as some of the correspondence had been made public. A part of the correspondence between the two Governments had been published by the United States. In addition to the residue of that correspondence, the pamphlet contains the Envoy's extracts from the secret and confidential letters to his own Government, in which he calls in question the good faith of the Government of the United States. His extraordinary mission was terminated by the act of the Envoy, but he was still in the enjoyment of his diplomatic privileges, and the subject of which he wrote was then pending with his Government. After his return, that Government looked for explanations which had been promised by the United States, and complained they were not received; which explanations, having been delayed by accident, were subsequently given to it.

The conduct of this Extraordinary Envoy is also alleged to have been conformable to diplomatic usage; and two instances are brought forward to sanction this allegation, assumed to exist in the history of the diplomacy of the United States. It is asserted in the note of Mr. Martinez that the Commissioners of the United States published their correspondence pending the negotiation at Ghent. During a war with Great Britain, the correspondence of the Commissioners of Great Britain and the United States, who were negotiating terms of peace, was published in Washington by the Government of the United States; there were no labels in it upon Great Britain. The Commissioners of the United States never published any thing during the negotiation at Ghent.

The Charge d'Affaires of France published a letter of instructions from the Duke de Broglie in some of the journals of the United States, in English. The letter of the Duke de Broglie was not a libel upon the Government of the United States; but its publication was considered improper by all parties in this country. By what means the Mexican Government has been imposed upon, and induced to assert that "Mr. Secretary Forsyth wrote to Paris representing that this Government would not object to receive again, as a diplomatic agent, the Charge d'Affaires who had caused that publication," a few months before, it is impossible to conjecture. It is a sheer fabrication, which will be seen with astonishment by the Governments of England and of France, to whom all the circumstances of the transaction to which it relates are as perfectly well known as they are to the Government of the United States.

The relations of the U. States and Mexico, therefore, as they now stand, are these: The demand of the United States for justice for past injuries has been made in conformity with the treaty between the two nations; but apparently no public complaint has since been examined by the Mexican Government, except the conduct of Mr. Gorostiza. The printing and distribution of his offensive pamphlet is approved by his Government, and justified as conformable to what was required by its dignity and interests.

To the other demands of a public nature, existing at the adjournment of the last annual session of Congress after five months' delay, no answer has been given. On three cases of private claims presented for final answer, answers have been given. The justice of two of them is denied, although one of them rests on a decree of the Mexican Government. Satisfaction for the one admitted of the Mexican Government, the Congress of Mexico, who have been considering the subject for eight or ten years, will be "incited" to pass upon it, when they meet.

Since the last session of Congress an embargo has been laid on American vessels in the ports of Mexico. Although raised, no satisfaction has been made or offered, for the resulting injuries.

Our merchant vessels have been captured for disregarding a pretended blockade of Texas; vessels and cargoes secretly proceeded against in the Mexican tribunals, condemned and sold; the captains, crews, and passengers of the captured vessels have been imprisoned and plundered of their property, and, after enduring insults and injuries, have been released without remuneration or apology. For these acts no reparation has been promised, nor explanations given, although satisfaction was, in general terms, demanded in July last.

From these facts a judgment may be formed of the value of the assurances that have been received from the Mexican Government, and the probability of their ever being fulfilled.

Copies of all the correspondence with the Mexican Government, not heretofore made public, and serving to elucidate the subject of this report, are herewith presented for consideration.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN FORSYTH,

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

From the Albany Argus.

PARTIES—THE "NEW ORGANIZATION."

For a long period of years, it has been a device of the Federal party to disguise old distinctions, and to create new names and issues. This has been its chief reliance in its contests with the Democracy, and in its efforts to regain the power of the Government. The artifice springs from an inherent under-estimate of the intelligence and integrity of the people; and from a belief that ignorance, such as theirs, may be made an easy dupe to any new name or new pretension that Federalism may set up. The poor success that has hitherto attended these efforts—the defeats and disgrace with which the recollection of them is associated—one would think, would scarcely induce a repetition of them. But so ready is the Federal party and its adjuncts to underrate the popular intellect and discernment, that one device is scarcely discarded, as unequal to the great task of bringing its inventors into power, before another is caught up, and put to use with the avidity that characterized the employment of those which had gone before it, and failed. The device is again the auxiliary of a party that has lost none of its hostility to the ascendancy of Democratic principles, whatever else it may have lost; and the dupe will be again, not the people, but itself.

For the last two years the Federalists have attempted to disguise their real character under the cognomen of Whigs. We mention the fact, as remarkable in the history of that party, that it has adhered to the name for a length of time so unusual in their party chronology. The proposition now is, however, to assume a new appellation. Whether, under the feeling manifested by the leading Federal journals in the city of New York towards the Conservatives, immediately after the election, it will be adopted or rejected, remains to be seen; but it is thrown out, undoubtedly, for precisely the same purpose for which all the attempts to destroy the old party distinctions, and to introduce new names and issues, have been urged forward from the prostration of the Federal party in 1809 to the present day, to mislead and subvert the Democratic party. It is thus distinctly presented by the Madisonian, in an article alluding to the results of the recent election in this State: "The two great antagonistic powers of the Jackson and Whig parties seem to have broken up. In their disorganization a new organization is likely to ensue. It is not our business or purpose to dictate, but to reflect the sentiments of those we represent." "We, therefore, do not undertake to chalk out a course for the Democracy to rally again upon, but our belief is that the two great banners hereafter will lead a CONSERVATIVE party on one side, and the DESTRUCTIVES on the other."

The "new organization" then is to be, if the other branch of the coalition can suppose their present appellation sufficiently understood, and therefore sufficiently useless to be thrown aside,—"A CONSERVATIVE party

on the one side, and the DESTRUCTIVES on the other;" and these terms are to take the place of the "two great antagonistic powers of Democracy and Federalism;" for call them what you will, such is the inherent distinction, and by such the great body of the people understand and appreciate them. Let us, however, sift the claims of the two parties under the "new organization."

The "conservative party" will, of course represent what is now known "for shortness," if not for deception, as the Whig party. And with what propriety can the partisans of that school be regarded as "conservative"? It is the same party that has sought the overthrow of the Democratic Party and the Democratic Administrations, in all forms and by every means. It assumed to be "conservative" when, in 1809, it resisted the election of Mr. JEFFERSON, as a leveller, an agrarian, a Democrat; and affected the greatest alarm that all civil rights and religious observances were to be trampled down, and lawless irreligion and misrule to bear sway.—There was no term of reproach or contumely that they did not heap upon the head of the illustrious man whose life and character, and whose exposition of the great principles of civil and religious liberty, are now the objects of the warmest eulogy and highest veneration of the American people. It was "conservative" also in its opposition to the last war; and in its attempts to paralyze the arm of Government, to weaken the attachments of the people to the true principles of self-government, to mislead them as to the great questions at issue in the conflict, to draw them away from the advocacy of their own Government to the approval of the conduct and measures of the enemy, and to defeat the exertions and wound the characters of the gallant defenders of the country. It was the "Peace party" then, as it was the "People's party" in '24, and the "Whig party" in 1837. It was "conservative" also in its attempt to defeat the great measure of constitutional reform in 1820-21; and to exclude, through property distinction, the great body of the electors from the rights of the ballot-box. It was "conservative" again, in its assaults upon the character and services of Gen. JACKSON, upon the sanctity of his domestic relations, and upon every act and measure of his administration. It was "conservative" in 1831, when, leagued with a gigantic moneyed power, it sought the demolition of our State institutions and the prostration of credit and commerce, sent abroad the emissaries of panic and pecuniary pressure, aimed its poisoned shafts at the good name of Democratic dealers, fomented sedition from the rostrum and through the press, proclaimed on Sundays, and in the streets, the return of revolutionary times; and finally through riot and tumult, forcibly entered and held possession of the public armory. It has been "conservative," also, in the embittered hostility with which it has pursued Mr. VAN BUREN from the earliest period of his public career—through a life devoted, with rare consistency, talent, and fidelity, to the sound principles of our Government and the best interests of the people—to the present moment. Such are the claims of the elder Federalism, and of its modern Whig offspring, to the distinction of being a "Conservative party on the one side;" and we shall venture to show with what grace the Democracy of the country can be charged as being "Destructives on the other."

The Democracy of the Union are, of course, to be regarded in this "new organization" as the "Destructives." The term has been already applied to them, and to all the friends of the Administration, by their old antagonists, the Federalists or Whigs. In the new vocabulary it can mean no other, and is designed to mean no other. But with what truth or justice is this great party denounced as Destructives? Let us see.

In 1798, at the primary division of parties, when the elder Adams sought to fasten the high toned Federal doctrines upon the country, and by the aid of odious restrictions upon the liberties of the press and of speech, and the rights of the citizen to perpetrate the Federal power, the Democratic party, with Mr. JEFFERSON at its head, stood forward as the champion of the unalienable and constitutional rights of the people, arresting the progress of Federal encroachment, and giving an impetus to the cause of self government, that has been felt, with salutary influences, in all the changes of administration, for the last forty years. In that day, the cry of infidelity, agrarianism and jacobinism, went forth from the ranks of the aristocracy against Mr. JEFFERSON. Our grandmothers were alarmed with the hideous aspect of the Democracy, as it came to them through the distorted and sinister misrepresentations of its adversaries; and they feared them, as some affect to fear now, that their bibles were to be burned, and their churches demolished! But the apprehension was unreal. The prediction was never verified. The success of the Democracy was the preservation of the Constitution. It was literally "Conservative." And truly may we exclaim, in view of the result which, going away from that great conflict and pervading the action of our Government, in some form, apparent or imperceptible, from that day to the present. "We thank God we have an unwavering confidence in the people, as friends of order, lovers of right, conservatives of truth. No truth once committed to their custody was ever lost; no franchise of which they are the guardians will ever be surrendered. There never was a rising of the people against the fundamental principles of Government. The instinct of order and security, of property and tranquility, is universal and innate, like the instinct of freedom."

Again, during the war of 1812-14, when every engine was employed to bring the American People and the Government to the footstool of the foreign and domestic enemy—when our sea board was invaded, our frontier scene of savage barbarity, and our capital in ashes—when suffering and deprivation were abroad in every form, and when presses and forums and even pulpits of Federalism came in, as in all seasons of calamity, with a mighty effort, with all the weapons of detraction and misrepresentation, and with appeals to the suffering interests of all classes, and particularly the mercantile classes, to prostrate the Administration of the country; deriding its efforts, embarrassing its measures of "relief," seething at its victories, and exulting in its defenders—the Democratic party arrested these destructive tendencies, and sustained the common cause by the highest examples of patriotism, devotion, and energy. The Republicans of this State in particular, with TOMPKINS at their head, and with VAN BUREN at his side, gave such tone and vigor to the cause of the country, (notwithstanding the Federalists in a single instance during that dark period carried a majority of the House) as to enable the Government to maintain what it was the labor of the Federal Destructives to break down, and to preserve for the lasting well-being of the country what it was their business, in the worst form of hostility, to overthrow.

Again, under the "new organization," General JACKSON was a "destructive." He came into power in 1828, and in 1832 under the same charges and denunciations, and from the same party—the party which, according to the nomenclature of the Madisonian, will lay claim to the title of Conservative. And how lay claim to the title of Conservative? And how lay claim to the title of "destructive" tendencies of his Administration manifested? By starting, in his domestic policy, with the great moral and political axiom, that "the blue-

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AUCTION SALES.

NOTICE. The following is to be sold, by force of an assignment, at J. M. & Co.'s office, corner of Mills and Congress streets, is well worthy the attention of purchasers. Catalogues are ready, and the whole may be examined this morning.

dec'd.

J. M. ALLEN & CO.

BY WHITWELL & SWEENEY.
Corner No 75 Congress street.

BELGIAN ROOTS.
This day, at 1 o'clock this office.

An inventory of rare Dutch highbush roses, imported by Tapp, K., Dixon, Esq., and all in excellent order, and supposed to be the finest assortment ever offered at auction in this city.

AUCTION SALE TO-NIGHT.

Watches, timepieces, jewelry & fancy goods
Taken on consignment and will be sold at public auction
by consent of parties.
On Friday next, at 10 o'clock, at office.
A large stock of watches, jewelry, fancy goods, timepieces,
&c., comprising a general assortment, viz. 3 gold watches—

1 silver 1/2-Epse do-3 alarm do-2; repeating do-26 Eng. Hb and French do-3; common do-4; Wilkes's 8-day brass Tim pieces-3; Parole's do-2; at cm. clocks-8; large art. of fine gold and plated jewelry, consisted of ear rings-hoison pins-finger rings-stick chains-watch fob chains-9 music boxes-13; 4 heavy silver pencils-3; dot German silver watch guards-according to pocket books and wallets-cutlery and chessmen-diamonds-faibles-14; fished boxes-luxury boxes-dressing cases, &c. &c.

Two large counter cases—two gloves—lot of funnel, &c.,
 &c.
 BY BENJ'N. POOR,
 [Office No. 54 Kirby street.]

This day at 10 o'clock, at office,
A Part of a stock of dry goods, consisting of blk, blue, bge,
and mixt c^o p^odeloths—jwender, drab and mixt cambriges—
stuffed cas^o jackets—dahlia pilot of the spider shams—flashes—
9, 10 and 11 4 muslin garters—vestings—stings—colored
cumbies—pinkies—Russett herts—lucy dresplaid shawls

merlino do - dartsed do - 6.4 French - erinea - English darts
do do versed dansk - lurch dansk - cold have cover -
jeans - talby yeivis - blk er pe - nash collar - petticoat
robes - canlets - ermine - hooks and eyes - kid gloves -
cotton hicc - brown drillings - ble. chel shirts - do cheering -
41 white flanges - 7 8 do - yellow do - ecrist do - cotton
dannels - doe skins, &c.

DRY GOODS,
 To-day, at 10 o'clock, at office,
 A large assortment of seasonable dry goods,
 SILK AND GINGHAM PARRELLAS,
 At 11 o'clock,
 16 cases gingham umbrellas,
 19 do synchaw and pro de Naples do.
 GE. J. L. CUNNINGHAM & CO.
 Office corner of Mark and Federal sts.

VALUABLE BOOKS—LONDON ANNUALS, PRINTS, &c.
Tomorrow Evening, at 6 o'clock at office
A collection of valuable books—among them are the works
of Dr Johnson—Shakespeare—Bacon, De Witt's edition—
Boswell's Life of Johnson, 2v, do—Murphy's tactics—Baker's
Lectures—North's Principles of Law—

Gray, 2v—Nomenclature—Rome, 2v—Galeotti's Dictionary of the Bible, London.—Matthew Henry's Miscellaneous Works, do.—Buckett's works, 2v 8vo, new ed.—Arabian Nights, lined, plates.—Todd's Johnson—Walker's Dictionary, 2v—Epitome of English Literature, 3v—Curiosities of Literature, 3v—Gull's

Also—a collection of elegant London annuals among them are Turner's *Ang. and Tour Sketches*, *Monthly Sketches*, &c.

ty, 19 plates—Picturesque Annual, 21 plates—Gleanings of Beauty, 19 plates—Picturesque Annual, 21 plates—Christian Keepsake, 19 plates—Waverly—Forget Me Not, large quarto, 44 plates—Gems of Beauty, 13 plates—Flowers of Lovelessness, 13 plates—Friendship's Offering—Parlor Drawing Room Scrap

Book—Literary Souvenir—Keppeler—Tomblinson's Views on the Rhine, 2v.—Flinden's Byron, 150 plates.—Jones's Views in London, Edinburgh, Wales—Jennings's Paris—National Portrait Gallery, 195 plates—Gallery of the Graces, 12 Nos., 36 plates, &c., &c.

Catalogue at the sale.

LAN IN THE STATE OF MAINE.
On Saturday next, at 2 o'clock, at office,
Twenty lots of land, situated in Enfield, and nineteen do
in Mexico, county of Oxford, Maine, to be sold.
The conditions, terms of sale and description, made known
at the sale.

BY EDWARD F. HALL,
Clerk No. 25 and 26 Central street,
SHERIFF'S SALE.

SUMMIT, N.H. Boston, Dec. 9 1897.

Taken on execution and will be sold at public auction,
Tomorrow at 5 o'clock at office.
A lot of dry goods—consisting of drillings—dusters—vest-
ings—table cloths—kibbet, merino and crape heddies—merino
gileans—silk—cottons, worsted and silk hose—sewing
silks—silk—crapes—collars—padding—span cotton—lisle—
ribbons, needles &c.
By order of Watson Freeman, Dep. Sheriff.

DRY GOODS.
Tomorrow, at 5 o'clock at office,
— A lot and

[illegible][illegible]

Chenille long cloths and sherrings—8 cases; doilies—eight cases; Canton flannels—5 cases; tape patches—20 half-pins; white flannels, for family use—20 pins; white and yellow doilies—5 cases; colored cambric—2 cases; red buckram—10 boxes; batting—5 cases; cotton flg. handkerchiefs—3 cases; Nankins, ———— 11 o'clock

—at 12 o'clock—
A few pieces of carpeting and a lot of Wilton and Brussels.

—At 1 o'clock—
10 cases fashionable silk hats, suitable for the southern and
extra markets—10 cases gloves and shoes—143 pair French
hats and slippers—100 extra large caps—50 fur caps.

BY SAM'L. H. BAYLOR.

A large assortment of new and second hand furniture, rockery, glass and china ware.

HORSES—CARRIAGES, HARNESSES, &c.
on Saturday, at 11 o'clock,
At the Depotary corner of Milk and Devonshire sts.
The present variety of horses, carriages, harnesses, &c.

Particulars hereafter.

TEN THOUSAND OLD NEWSPAPERS for
 sale at this office. 1871 034

